

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 02426

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FOR GARRISON FROM MATLOCK

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OGEN
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

1. FOLLOWING FOR AMBASSADOR TOON: WE READ WITH GREAT INTEREST THE DISCUSSION ON CONTACTS BETWEEN MEMBERS OF US SCIENTIFIC DELEGATIONS AND SOVIET DISSIDENTS, AS REPORTED IN THE MINUTES OF THE JANUARY 10 ICCUSA MEETING. SINCE YOU APPARENTLY WILL BE ASKED TO SPEAK TO THIS QUESTION AT THE FEBRUARY 21 ICCUSA MEETING, YOU MAY FIND OUR THOUGHTS HELPFUL.

2. WE BELIEVE THAT CONTACTS BY US SCIENTIFIC DELEGATION MEMBERS WITH SOVIET DISSIDENTS, IF PERMISSIBLE AT ALL, SHOULD TAKE PLACE ONLY AFTER FULL DISCUSSION OF INDIVIDUAL CASE WITH EMBASSY AND YOUR EXPLICIT APPROVAL. IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE SPECIALIZED BILATERALS IS TO FOSTER OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED COOPERATION AND THEREBY BUILD CONFIDENCE, INCREASE US ACCESS AND ESTABLISH GENERALLY MORE NORMAL WORKING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE US AND THE USSR. ACTIVITIES BY US DELEGATION MEMBERS THAT RUN COUNTER TO THESE MAJOR GOALS, AND THEREBY OFFER THE SOVIETS AN EASY EXCUSE FOR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 02426 182017Z

LIMITING OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED CONTACTS, MUST BE WEIGHED CAREFULLY.

3. IT MAY BE THAT SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE COME TO EXPECT A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF CONTACTS WITH REFUSENIKS AND EVEN OCCASIONALLY WITH MORE POLITICALLY SENSITIVE DISSIDENTS, AND FIND THEY CAN LIVE WITH THE PHENOMENON AS SOMETHING

O A NECESSARY COST OF RECEIVING US SPECIALIZED DELEGATIONS. HOWEVER, WHEN SUCH CONTACTS ARE CONTEMPLATED, WE BELIEVE THE FOLLOWING FACTORS SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND:

--IN SOVIET EYES THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS "OFF DUTY"

OR "UNOFFICIAL" TIME FOR MEMBERS OF SCIENTIFIC

DELEGATIONS WHEN IT COMES TO CONTACTING SOVIET DISSIDENTS;

--CONTACTS WITH DISSIDENTS ARE NOT PER SE CONTRARY TO

SOVIET LAW, ALTHOUGH TRANSMITTAL OF WRITTEN MATERIAL AND

OTHER ITEMS ON THEIR BEHALFIS, AS A RULE, CONSIDERED

"ILLEGAL" UNDER SOVIET LAWS AND REGULATIONS;

--CONTACT BETWEEN A US SCIENTIST AND ONE OR TWO SOVIET

DISSIDENT SCIENTISTS IN THE SAME LINE OF RESEARCH TO

DATE HAS NOT SEEMED TO UPSET SOVIET OFFICIALDOM UNDULY;

HOWEVER, CONTACTS WHICH GO BEYOND THIS UNDOUBTEDLY

ARE VIEWED WITH GREAT SUSPICION (IT MUST BE ASSUMED

THAT ALL SUCH CONTACTS WOULD COME TO THE ATTENTION OF

SOVIET AUTHORITIES);

--WE ARE AT PRESENT IN A PERIOD OF SOVIET CRACKDOWN AGAINST

DISSIDENTS, A PHASE IN WHICH OFFICIAL SOVIET SENSITIVITIES

ARE RELATIVELY HIGH.

4. IN LIGHT OF THE ABOVE FACTORS, WE SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING GENERAL GUIDELINES:

--EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES OF SPECIAL BILATERAL AGREEMENTS
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 02426 182017Z

TIGHTEN UP BRIEFINGS IN THE US OF ALL DELEGATIONS, AND NOTIFY EUR/SOV IF THEY DISCOVER INTENT TO CONTACT SOVIET DISSIDENTS;

--WHILE IN THE SOVIET UNION, HEADS OF DELEGATION SEEK EMBASSY GUIDANCE ERIOR TO INITIATING CONTACT WITH SOVIET DISSIDENTS;

--MEMBERS OF DELEGATION INFORM THEIR RESPECTIVE DELEGATION HEADS PRIOR TO INITIATING SUCH CONTACT, AND DELEGATION HEADS THEN SEEK EMBASSY GUIDANCE AS SEEMS APPROPRIATE, ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS (THESE MATTERS SHOULD NOT, OF COURSE, BE DISCUSSED OVER THE TELEPHONE);

--THE EMBASSY SHOULD BE INFORMED AS PROMPTLY AS CIRCUMSTANCES ALLOW OF ANY UNUSUAL DEVELOPMENT (I.E., HARASSMENT, PROVOCATION, HEAVY SURVEILLANCE) RELATED TO CONTACT WITH SOVIET DISSIDENTS;

--US DELEGATION MEMBERS SHOULD BE INSTRUCTED UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES TO TRANSMIT WRITTEN AND OTHER MATERIAL TO OR FROM THE SOVIET UNION ON BEHALF OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS.

5. THE GENERAL MESSAGE WE BELIEVE ICCUSA SHOULD DISSEMINATE IS THAT CONTACTS WITH PRIVATE SOVIET

CITIZENS, WHICH DO NOT INVOLVE ACTIONS CONSIDERED ILLEGAL UNDER SOVIET LAW, ARE NOT DISCOURAGED. BUT, AT LEAST FOR THE NEAR TERM, SUCH CONTACTS BY MEMBERS OF OFFICIAL US DELEGATIONS CAN HAVE AN IMPACT UPON THE POLITICAL CLIMATE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, AND SHOULD THEREFORE BE SUBJECT TO A REASONABLE MEASURE OF COORDINATION WITH THE EMBASSY, DEPENDING UPON THE POLITICAL SENSITIVITY OF A GIVEN CONTACT. MATLOCK

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